

15 GOLDWATER TURNING RIGHT?

For those who have long felt the Junior Republican Senator from Arizona was as far right in his political philosophy as a man could get, the question posed may appear to be absurda=absurdum, But in the minds of many who have been charmed by Goldwater's undeniable appeal and apparent frankness, the results of the Arizona primary will require evaluating.

That two Republicans should be contesting for that Party's nomination in itself presents

The present Democrat incumbent, Carl Hayden, has served in the Congress since Arizona became a state, is Chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, and is regarded by most knowledgeable observers as unbeatable.

The two men then vying for this empty honor could be regarded as totally unrealistic politically were it not for the fact of the senior Senator's age. He will be 85 on October 2. The general election will not be held until November 6 and it ^{is} ~~is~~/conceivable that an act of God might make it possible for the Republican to win.

But the interesting question raised by the Arizona election ~~is~~ has little bearing on whether or not either Republican contender had much hope for victory in November.

The situation developed when Evan Mecham, a one-term State Senator from Maricopa County, announced in late December that he would

be a candidate for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate. Mecham, a rather undistinguished legislator, was tolerated by his colleagues but he had little real strength in the higher house. Mecham, a Nuvo-Nash-Pontiac dealer from the suburb city of Glendale had been a resident in Maricopa County for less than 10 years. In 1952 he had tried, and failed, to be elected in the Lower House of the Legislature from Ajo, a mining community in Pima County. In '60, with the Republican Party flexing its muscles, Mecham was swept into office by a landslide with the very popular Republican Governor incumbent Paul Fannin.

Mecham's only notable legislative offering was a proposal to relieve the County Assessors of their Constitutional duties and require all owners of real property to assess their own holdings ^{at current} ~~at current~~ market value. The proposal carried a complicated system requiring the state to spend \$1, 400, 000 to employ qualified appraisers who would examine every piece of property in the state once in five years. If the owner had failed to put his property on at the figure determined by the professional appraiser, there would be fines and penalties .

In a moving state such as Arizona where the real estate values are increasing daily, the Mecham proposal was regarded as a nightmare which _____ and in the words of one county assessor ~~ix~~ make it impossible for the state to function.

Arizona's tax rate is based on an estimate of assessed valuation and with everyone being permitted to assess their own property no qualified official was willing to guess what the total might be.

In the First Session of the 25th Legislature Mecham had stubbornly voted "no" against such necessary bills as a supplemental appropriation to operate the state prison - made necessary because of the construction of a new cell block - and numerous small salary increases offered ~~as~~ in an effort to attract more qualified personnel into state employment.

With this background, his announcement that he would seek the United States Senate nomination was greeted with great dismay by most of the party leaders.

In an official meeting of the County Chairmen, presided over by the State Chairman Stephen Shadegg in December, the party hierarchy were informed of Mecham's intention. Their reaction was to postpone any decision or party action for 90 days and to ignore the Mecham declaration.

Mecham, an active member in the Mormon Church, carried out his threat and officially announced late in December. He selected a fellow Mormon, Mac Matheson, as his campaign manager. (Matheson has been twice defeated for Congress in the 2nd District), and sent out an appeal to registered Republicans for funds to finance his campaign. This appeal, incidentally, coincided with the ~~official~~ official Republican drive for funds

and was not hailed with much enthusiasm by party officials in the 14 counties.

In late March Stephen Shadegg, who had been elected State Chairman of the Republican Party in December of 1960 with Goldwater's support, and who according to Fortune Magazine was Goldwater's political ego, announced that he would resign the State Chairmanship to seek the Republican nomination for the United States Senate.

Shadegg managed Goldwater's first campaign in 1952, was the generalissimo of his second successful campaign in 1958, was selected by Goldwater to serve as a consultant to the Senatorial Campaign Committee in 1960 (all incumbents were re-elected), served as Goldwater's collaborator on the very successful newspaper column, "How Do You Stand, Sir?", and was generally considered nationwide to be the closest man in the country to Goldwater politically speaking.

The New York Times and many other publications have suggested that Shadegg wrote Goldwater's first book, "The Conscience of a Conservative", and while the syndicate (Times-Mirror of Los Angeles) and its manager, Rex Barley, stepped gently around the subject as to actual authorship when queried, it is logical to believe that Shadegg actually wrote all of the columns. And this sometimes corny, sometimes brilliant series of essays grew in popularity from one paper in 1959 to more than 160 in 1962.

Goldwater donated the income from the column to various charitable causes and when asked maintained that he had scribbled out at least half of the columns in his spare time. Shadegg always supported the position his boss had taken on authorship.

When Shadegg announced for the Republican Senate nomination, it appeared that Goldwater recognizing the possibility of Hayden's age becoming the dominant factor in the November election had turned to his long-time supporter in an effort to provide the Republican Party with a respectable and effective conservative candidate just in case.

Before making his official announcement Shadegg visited with Eugene Pulliam, right-wing publisher of the Phoenix Gazette and the Arizona Republic, and reportedly told Pulliam that Barry had given the nod, and ~~that~~ his entry was to be a just in case^{" "}activity. Observers aware of the close relationship between Goldwater and Shadegg accepted the latter's announcement without question as an indication that Goldwater had called the turn. Indeed, it seemed difficult to believe that Shadegg, an experienced politician who commenced managing candidates in 1938 in his home county of Maricopa, and once assisted Carl Hayden in a primary contest, would have moved without consulting the man he helped to elect to the Senate against overwhelming odds on two different occasions.

Immediately following Shadegg's announcement, there developed a situation which is still puzzling knowledgeable political observers in

Arizona. Goldwater sent a wire to all County Chairmen and to candidate Mecham disavowing Shadegg and saying that he would take no part in the primary contest. He then moved the authorship of the column to Washington, where one of his staff supposedly now prepares it, and publicly insisted that he had no prior knowledge of his one-time ~~sex~~ associate's intentions. This position is challenged by R. L. (Dick) Herman, prominent Nebraska Republican, who says Goldwater told him he was delighted when Shadegg got into the race. G. R. Herberger, Republican financial expert in Arizona, says Goldwater admitted to him that he called Shadegg and suggested that either the State Chairman or Dick Kleindienst, former State Chairman, enter the race to defeat Mecham.

The question which is plaguing Republicans in Arizona is this: Why did Goldwater turn his back on his former associate and adopt a fictional position of neutrality?

Actually Goldwater was not neutral. His former administrative assistant, Dean Burch of Pima County, announced that he would manage Shadegg's campaign and then, after conversation with Goldwater, withdrew. And Herberger, who entered the Shadegg campaign with great enthusiasm and offered to raise all funds necessary, had a conversation with Goldwater and then went to Minnesota to spend the summer.

Goldwater reportedly told Mrs. John Pritzlaff (daughter of the former Republican Finance Treasurer Spencer Oland[?]) that he wanted Shadegg

defeated. This word was spread throughout the expatriot, millionaire colony of Scottsdale.

Why the change? If Shadegg was good enough to direct the Goldwater campaigns, to write his column, to assist in other published statements, how could this man who claims he always stands up to be counted give his support to an undistinguished member of the State Senate whose bad grammar and over-simplified answers appalled the discriminating voters in the course of the primary?

Probers think they have found the reason by examining the genesis of the Mecham candidacy and looking closely at his early supporters.

William C. Attaway, one time publicly identified coordinator of the John Birch Society of Maricopa County, Frank Cullen Brophy, a national vice president of the Birch Society, C. Truman Davis, M.D. of Mesa, claimed credit for putting Mecham in the race.

Brophy, a Roman Catholic, has long been identified with the radical right, ~~and~~ changed his registration from Democrat to independent in 1956, and re-registered in '62 to vote for Mecham.

Attaway attempted to avoid the Birch label by resigning in order to run for the House of Representatives in Arizona.

Davis, a noted Episcopal ~~churchman~~ churchman, created ~~an~~ quite a breach in the Diocese by his charges that the National Council of Churches is Communist-dominated, moved from St. Marks in Mesa, his home parish, to Tempe where the Rector led him out of the church, and he now attends

^a
at/Episcopal congregation in North Phoenix.

At the 1960 Republican Convention in Chicago the small support Goldwater had for the nomination came primarily from Roger Milliken, millionaire owner of cotton mills in South Carolina and an admitted Birch member. Tex Talbert, identified in Life Magazine as the Birch director in Los Angeles County, Clarence Manion, an official of the Birch Society, and Greg Shorey, State Chairman of South Carolina, Milliken's hand-picked party official.

Mecham's first campaign manager, Dr. Robert Baxter, a one-time member of the Birch Society, resigned in disgust because of Mecham's "I'll do it my way or else" attitude, his folksy appearance and ungrammatical repetition of the Dan Smoot, Bob Welch line.

On December 7, 1961, speaking in Tempe, Arizona as a member of the Arizona State Senate in debate^{with} the Democrat State Chairman, Sam Goddard, Mecham called former President Eisenhower a Socialist. Later on he demanded a retraction of the reporter's account of that meeting and amended his position to say that Eisenhower had followed Socialist policies.

Clarence Duncan, Phoenix attorney and long-time member of the Birch Society, argues that since the Republican administration did not repudiate the United Nations, Social Security, and other Franklin Roosevelt measures, Eisenhower in fact was a Socialist.